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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The Jew in the Postwar World

Abraham I. Katsh, *Issue Editor*

Part I. What Is to Be Done

The Role of American Jews in Postwar Reconstruction, *Alexander M. Dushkin*, 260; Jewish Education in the Postwar World, *Samuel M. Blumenfield*, 262; Foundations of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction in Europe, *Theodor H. Gaster*, 267; Problems of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction in Europe, *Arieh Tartakower*, 271

Part II. What Can Be Done

The Role of Judaism in the Postwar World, *Robert Gordis*, 278; Jewish Palestine in the Postwar World, *Isaac B. Berkson*, 287; Anti-Semitism, *Nathan Reich*, 294; Problems of Minorities Regarding an International Bill of Rights, *Simon Segal*, 302; Jewish Student Activity in the University, *Lorraine Nadelman and Sarah Shulman*, 310
Editorial, 257

Bibliography, 317

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EDITORIAL

But let justice well up as waters,
And righteousness as a mighty stream.

—Amos 5:24

Have we not all one father?
Hath not one God created us?
Why do we deal treacherously every man
against his brother?

—Malachi 2:10

The task of postwar Jewish reconstruction is multilateral. It depends upon the following:

How can statesmen be made to see that democracy and universal peace can be secured only if free government is the cooperative undertaking of different peoples on terms of equal partnership, deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed? How can those of the privileged classes today be made to see that anti-Semitism is a canker that eats at the very hearts of all they themselves hold dear; that hatred is a boomerang that can rebound to one's own hurt? How can those who hold the reins of commerce, of industry, of economics be shown that to the minorities we owe many constructive contributions that have influenced modern culture and civilization and that to suppress them means to deny a God-given right of freedom to another human? In a word, how can we best prepare the future of the Jew in a world that is becoming increasingly small,

intimate, and interrelated, and yet at the moment is in the state of chaos and bewilderment?

Education is the only answer. Education is a broad term, however, as we have seen in the use to which the Nazi powers have employed it. Its effect can be for good or evil. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and even when he is old, he will not depart from it" (Prov. 22:6). This is sage advice about what can be done toward educating the youth of our nation, but education is not for children alone. It is for the adult as well. It is the adults of today that are molding the children who will become the adults of tomorrow. To educate the adult means to create in him an understanding of the Jew, which will be basic to peaceful relations. Through an elimination of prejudice on his part we can develop an appreciation of the contribution which Judaism has to offer. We can even develop an enthusiasm on his part that will result in the proper rearing of his children. All this will help to cement the foundations of a democracy laid upon liberty, justice, and equal rights for all.

Some may point out that a truly educated man is a tolerant man. That is not enough. Tolerance is not the ideal of democracy. It is the luxury of abundance and security. It implies superiority of the one tolerating, and inferiority of the one to be tolerated. Understanding and appreciation of differences are the ideals of democracy. Democracy teaches respect, respect for another person's opinion, if truthfully and reasonably founded. Democracy for our children to learn and our adults to practise is respect for truth, respect for opinions, that can be righteously defended. Education, if properly applied, may recondition the people so as to remove their inrooted stigma of hatred against each other and the mandatory boundaries of class division. Intelligent thinking and intelligent formation of opinion can lend much to the democracy and to the goal of a universal peace.

In this issue we have tried to present a picture that will stimulate the thinking and direct the opinion of the intelligent person of today. In Part I we present the problems of cultural reconstruction

as affecting the American Jewish community. In Part II we have indicated the elements of the problem which are a part of the responsibility of the allied peoples. We have also touched lightly on the role of the students in the building up of a mutual understanding among the youth of today.

It is recognized that there are many points not covered here, but, in the main, these are primary if we would progress in our aim to achieve a world democracy where nations may live as neighbors, peoples as brothers, and individuals as happy and dignified human beings.

And they shall beat their swords into plowshares,
And their spears into pruning hooks;
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
Neither shall they learn war any more.

—Isaiah 2:4

ABRAHAM I. KATSH

Part I. What Is to Be Done—The Responsibility of the Jewish Community

THE ROLE OF AMERICAN JEWS IN POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION

Alexander M. Dushkin

Hitler's plan of world domination was to be a mad crescendo, beginning with the weakest and most helpless, and extending ultimately to the strongest and most powerful of nations. The world is being saved from that catastrophe, at the price of untold suffering, bloodshed, and devastation. The Jews who were Hitler's enemy number one suffered longest and most terribly, for against them he sought to wage a war of extermination.

In the many tasks of healing and reconstruction facing the world, the treatment accorded to the Jews will be of barometric significance. It will indicate how much of Hitlerism will have been eradicated and how much will still remain to plague the world anew. The reconstruction of Jewish life in Europe, Africa, and Asia must therefore be the earnest concern of the entire world, as it struggles toward the new freedom. It is naturally of special significance to American fellow Jews whose role is twofold. First, they must keep stirring the conscience of the free nations until the Jews the world over will share fully in freedom and in equality of opportunity. It is sad to learn how little anti-Semitism has been eradicated in some of the liberated countries—Rumania, France, North Africa. Even where anti-Semitic laws have been or will be abrogated, the poison of Nazi teaching still exists among the people, and will remain. American Jewry will have to be on the watchtower for a long time to come, to warn of impending forest fires whose sparks are hidden in anti-Semitism. In the reconstruction and upbuilding of Palestine,

too, it is American Jews who must continue to serve as the articulate and forceful voice of world Jewish needs.

Second, American Jews must themselves be ready to render the direct help that will be required of them as kinsmen and coreligionists. This they have done before, following the First World War, and this they are ready to do again. But this time the task is quantitatively far greater than they can cope with. Only national governments and international agencies can solve problems of repatriation, reuniting of families, restoration of health and security, determination of property rights, rebuilding of homes and industries, reestablishment of economic opportunities, restoration of civic and political rights, etc. American Jews must, however, take upon themselves the role of special advocates, representing their fellow Jews where necessary before governments and international agencies; and they must render physical help and spiritual aid everywhere *prior* to the time when these can be adequately obtained by Jews from properly constituted authorities.

But while in the quantitative aspects of the great problem American Jews can at best play a secondary, though important, role, they can render major and direct help in the qualitative reconstruction of Jewish community life in Europe. Jewish cultural and educational reconstruction should receive the special solicitude of American Jews. The old, fairly stable, normally evolving Jewish civilization in Europe has broken down, perhaps beyond all repair or reconstruction. Cultural leadership has undergone deep-seated changes. What happens culturally to European Jewry is of more than philanthropic interest to American Jews. To be sure, the determination of the new forms of Jewish cultural and educational activity will, naturally and rightly, be made by the local Jewries of Europe. But the character and form of Jewish culture in Europe has influenced American Jewish thinking and living in the past and will most probably continue to do so in the even less isolated world ahead of us. It is important, therefore, that educational bodies like the

National Council for Jewish Education and the American Association for Jewish Education give constant and earnest consideration to this phase of European reconstruction. The three papers in the first part of this issue which follow represent, in a sense, three centers of Jewish life—America (Blumenfield); Eastern Europe (Tartakower, Poland); and Western Europe (Gaster, England). It will not be possible to judge the situation truly, or to attempt to exert any influence, until more data can be gathered on the spot in every European country. This, of course, is possible only after liberation. But such discussions as those which follow have important prognostic value.

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JEWISH EDUCATION IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

Samuel M. Blumenfield

The problem of postwar Jewish education can be divided into four main areas: Soviet Russia, Palestine, European countries, and the United States.

Little can be said at this stage of the fortunes of Jewish education in Russia following this war. The story of Jewish education in Russia between the two wars offers little that is encouraging. While many cultural minorities concentrated in certain areas in Soviet Russia made great progress in the field of education following the revolution of 1917, the Jewish school of Soviet Russia lost ground.¹ This retrogression was certainly not due to any discrimination on the part of the Soviet government against Jews. Rather was it due to the fact that Russian Jewry is scattered among the different Soviet cultural minorities and to the special character of Jewish education.

¹ In 1927-1928 nearly 50 per cent of Jewish children attended Jewish schools in Russia as compared with some 20 per cent in 1933.

Other minorities in Soviet Russia were able to develop their educational system along lines of secular culture; Jewish education, rooted in Jewish religious lore and tradition, found itself out of harmony with the dominant antireligious policy of the Soviet government of those days. The attempt on the part of Jewish communists to secularize Jewish education by divorcing it from the study of Hebrew (the original language of the Bible), and from the synagogue, by substituting for it the Yiddish language and secular content only hastened the doom of the Jewish school in Russia.

With the changes that are taking place in present-day Russia in the attitude of the government toward religion and the church, there is reason to believe that the Jewish community in Russia will regain some of its freedom to determine the character of the Jewish education of its children. Such a change would lead to the reconstruction of the Jewish school in Russia along more traditional lines, including the study of Hebrew. This will revitalize Jewish education in Soviet Russia.

Not much change is to be expected in Jewish education in Palestine. Hebrew already is the language of the Palestine school, from the kindergarten to the university. In one sense, there will come a change in Jewish education in Palestine. Until the war, Palestine education, both in the general and the specifically Jewish fields, drew its strength from the Diaspora. The Jewish teachers and scholars, as well as the general scientists who serve Palestinian schools, were until recently recruited from Europe and America. The president of the Hebrew University is an American, and for a number of years the head of the Jewish public-school system was an American Jewish educator. With postwar changes, Palestine will become a center of Jewish learning and literary and artistic creativity that will serve not only the needs of Palestinian Jewry but also those of the Jews the world over.

One has reason to be concerned about the fortunes of Jewish education in Eastern European countries. With their numbers deci-

mated, the Jews no longer have communities large enough to command the support of the state for the kind of cultural autonomy that they asked for and received (in principle) at Versailles following the First World War. Both Eastern and Central European Jewry will need assistance in material and in human resources from other Jewish communities to recoup some of the strength and vitality they enjoyed in the course of many centuries.

In Western European lands, such as England and France, Jewish education will be influenced to some degree by events in Palestine and even to a greater extent by developments of Jewish education in the United States, the largest single community in the world.

The United States of America. American Jewry is the only substantial community that has not been materially affected by the war by virtue of its being Jewish. Socially and economically, the Jews of America have shared, during this war, in the sacrifices, responsibilities, handicaps, and advantages of their non-Jewish neighbors. Psychologically, however, the events leading up to the war and the war itself have affected Jewry in a more marked degree than other elements of American society. For years to come, the Jews of this country will remember the horrors perpetrated upon Jews in Nazi-occupied countries; nor will they easily forget the unbridled outpourings of vicious anti-Semitism of the Coughlins, Smiths, and Pelleys in America. Together with millions of other peace- and freedom-loving people of the world, the Jews of America have come to realize that humanity and decency must not be taken for granted. This struggle and defense will have to be carried on by their children as well; hence, the Jews of America are coming to the realization that, in addition to philanthropic services and antidefamation activities, they must evolve a program for the strengthening of the Jewish spiritual and intellectual resources of their youth through an adequate system of Jewish education. As the Jews of America become, together with their fellow citizens, better adjusted economically and the erstwhile need for Jewish charity effort decreases, there

is reason to believe that the material resources and organizational experience accumulated by Jewish philanthropic institutions will be utilized to a greater extent for Jewish education in postwar days.

There are a number of other factors that should aid in the task of postwar Jewish education in this country. Many a young Jew who never crossed the threshold of a synagogue or a Jewish institution before the war found in the armed services, the most conspicuous patriotic institution of America, an acceptance and recognition of his "difference," unknown to him in civilian life. Tens of thousands of Jews in uniform will have discovered for the first time that the American Government and society, far from frowning upon their Jewish heritage, as was the experience of their fathers in European lands, actually encouraged it, by placing Jewish religious beliefs and practices on equal footing with those of their non-Jewish neighbors.

This new realization that Jewish self-expression can be achieved as of right rather than of sufferance will go a long way to encourage a half-million young Jews who will have returned after the war to think more earnestly of the importance of Jewish education for themselves and for their children.

Curriculum. Postwar Jewish education in America will be affected in still another way by the fact that European Jewry will have ceased to be the reservoir of Jewish scholars, teachers, authors, and other cultural forces which constituted the mainstay of Jewish education of this country in the past. Responsible elements in American Jewry have come to realize that they themselves will have to create both the resources and the instruments for Jewish survival in this country. These new resources, once developed on American soil, will have the advantage of being congenial to and compatible with the American environment and will thus be able to serve the educational needs of American Jewry to a greater degree and in a more effective manner than those imported from without.

These changes and improvements will not come overnight. Out of a sense of loyalty to and reverence for European centers of Jewish

learning and culture, ruthlessly destroyed by the Nazis, some Jews in this country will feel it their moral duty to maintain the Jewish values and institutions developed in Europe in the course of centuries and hallowed in recent years by the blood of martyrs. Indeed, within the last few years, there have come into being a number of Jewish educational institutions which are even more faithful to Jewish European traditional patterns than those that preceded them. These expressions of loyalty, noble as they are, do not hold much promise for the future, for they do not take into account the realities of American life which are greatly different from those that brought the centers of Jewish culture into being.²

Progressive Jewish educators in this country believe that with the cessation of waves of Jewish immigrants, the Jewish curriculum of past years, built mainly around loyalties to the past, must yield to one that is more closely related to the problems of American Jews of today. Such a reconstructed curriculum would come closer to the actual life experience of the Jewish child and would seek to achieve greater integration between his American interests and Jewish needs. To achieve this end, postwar Jewish education in this country will seek to utilize to a greater degree the leisure time of the Jewish child and youth. Holidays, weekends, and, above all, the summer months that are free from regular school tasks will be used in greater measure, for they offer opportunities not only for more concentrated and effective Jewish learning, but also for Jewish living without which no system of Jewish education can have any appreciable effect upon the fortunes of Jewry or Judaism. Once Jewish education ceases to be merely a concession to traditions of the past and becomes better oriented to present-day Jewish realities, greater care will be given to the Jewish education of youth, an area sadly neglected until now to the detriment of the whole structure of Jewish education in

² An interesting development in Jewish education in America is the progressive all-day Jewish school organized in recent years in New York. This type of school is patterned after "private" educational institutions and is limited to children of families of better economic circumstances, who are in earnest about the Jewish education of their children.

America. Jewish education would thus still retain its supplementary character in relation to the public school. It would become life centered rather than verbal or book centered, as it had to be when limited to the counted hours on Sunday morning or on weekday afternoons. Incidentally, too, religious education could make a constructive contribution to the general problem of leisure. In keeping with the growing trend for greater and improved adult education, one may look forward to more earnest efforts in this field, to bridge the gap between education of the young and that of the adult.

Those who are responsible for the fortunes of Jewish education in this country are motivated primarily by their faith in and loyalty to the Jewish religious and cultural heritage. But while the major interest of Jewish educators is Jewish survival, on a dignified and creative level, they are also guided by the conviction that, meeting adequately the needs of Jewish education, they are serving the best interests of American democracy. This conviction is based upon their faith in the social and ethical teachings of Judaism and upon the belief that freedom and democracy can be better achieved through the full expression of the best that there is in every religious, cultural, and racial group in American society.

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FOUNDATIONS OF JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE

Theodor H. Gaster

It is erroneously supposed (even by national organizations that should know better) that the task which confronts us is one of restoring prewar or pre-Nazi conditions, of putting libraries, museums, schools, seminaries, and academies back on their feet, as they were in 1939 or before Hitler rose to power. Our problem is, how-

ever, not one of renovation or repair but of laying new foundations. So far as the Jews of Europe are concerned, there are no ruins to rebuild; we have to start from scratch.

And what, in this case, is scratch? Scratch is a realization of the simple fact that the patterns of cultural and educational institutions everywhere are not static and constant, but dynamic and variable, inasmuch as they are the expressions of living and variable communities. Just as the old-time educational system of Eastern European Jewry issued out of the material conditions and ideological outlook of closed, unemancipated communities, so the future system will issue out of the changed material conditions and ideological outlook of European Jews during the past ten years and in the immediate postwar period.

Some of these changes are obvious; others are less apparent. We can all appreciate, for instance, that the financial resources from which Jewish cultural and educational institutions in Europe formerly drew support have now been cut off. No less significant, however, will be those vast demographic changes that are bound to arise in consequence of the economic transformation of all European countries. Jews tend to settle in industrial centers. At the end of the war, however, many of those centers (e.g., Cologne or Frankfurt) will be found to have been so severely bombed that for some time they may not be able to attract new inhabitants with possibilities of gainful employment. Again, it may well be that heavy industry will be shifted, where feasible, to areas believed to be less vulnerable to aerial warfare. In that case, the distribution of the Jews will inevitably undergo a profound change. What then will be the use of restoring their former cultural and educational institutions on the old basis? Clearly, our problem will be one of redistribution rather than of reconstruction.

Then there is the psychological factor. The thinking of European Jewry has changed profoundly during the past ten years. Men and women who have passed through concentration camps, had their fortunes ruined, their families broken up or murdered, and who

have manned the barricades of Warsaw because they were Jews are apt to think otherwise about their Judaism, its significance, its future, and its needs, than do their philanthropic coreligionists in remote New York.

Let us come down to cases. Take, first, such a large-scale national institution as the French Alliance Israelite Universelle, the archives and resources of which were confiscated by the Nazis when they occupied Paris. In the proper sense of the word, this was a cultural and educational institution, which was concerned with such matters as education among the "backward" Jewish communities of North Africa. Now, the basis of this entire organization was philanthropic; and it may well be that after the war its beneficiaries will be a little tired of philanthropy and will have learned, as did their Polish brethren in the sixties, that their own democratic representation of their interests is far more effective and far less dangerous to themselves than the "diplomatic" sponsorship of the gentlemen of Paris. In that case, the Alliance will have lost much of its former *raison d'être*, and mere reconstruction of it on the old basis will be useless. Thus, reorientation, not reconstruction, will be required to meet the needs.

Practical steps? Here are some things that might be done right here and now.

First: All of our national organizations, together with those in unoccupied Europe and in Palestine, might together appoint a commission of Jewish scholars and educators to act as an advisory commission to the United Nations in the administration of Jewish cultural properties after the war. Such a commission would determine the redistribution and reallocation of cultural properties in accordance with emergent needs. It might also act as international trustees of cultural properties formerly owned by communities or organizations now liquidated. In addition, it would assist in the assessment of claims for indemnities in respect to Jewish cultural properties damaged or destroyed.

Second: Under the auspices of such a commission an inquiry

might be conducted into the assets, budgets, administration, and ownership of Jewish cultural and educational institutions as of 1933 or 1939. The object of this inquiry would be to ascertain not only the present use of such institutions, but also the basis upon which they formerly served communities.

Third: Such a commission might appoint a special subcommittee to supervise the presentation of material relating to Jews in textbooks and other media of education used in Axis countries after the war. This would seem to be an obvious requirement in connection with the task of weaning German youth from Nazi indoctrination.

Fourth: Synagogues in the United States might revive the time-honored custom of reserving a certain portion of the weekly "offerings" for the cultural and educational revitalization of European Jewry. In the sixteenth century, it was a not uncommon thing to institute special funds for the ransoming of Jews from the Inquisition. What is required today is a similar fund for the release of European Jewry from the dark night in which it has been enveloped.

These are simple, practical steps. They are not based upon any definitive blueprint. They represent the kind of machinery that can be adapted to any of many possible emergent patterns. They imply a divorce from the old-time ideas of "reconstruction" on the one hand and of undiscerning philanthropic largesse on the other. The Conference on Jewish Relations, a nonpartisan, nonpolitical association of Jewish scholars, educators, and professional men in this country, has recently sponsored the creation of a commission on the lines suggested above. Analogous efforts are also being made in England by the Jewish Historical Society. It is to be hoped that the Jewish community at large and the national Jewish organizations will support this undertaking.

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PROBLEMS OF JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE

Arieh Tartakower

I

The fundamental difference between the problems of reconstruction throughout Europe after the present war and their specific application within the limits of Jewish life is more evident in the field of culture and education than in other sections of social life. Great as the destruction and injury is to the cultural and spiritual institutions of European nations, the problem is primarily quantitative in nature. There may be one important exception to this quantitative nature of the problem. That is the re-education of the Germans to qualify them for readmission to the family of nations, as well as the removal of the influence of Nazi ideology in various parts of Europe.

Quite different will be the situation in Jewish life. The most striking but certainly not the only difference will be that of proportions. Just as the entire Jewish property was robbed or stolen by the Nazis and their followers, so was Jewish cultural life in its totality destroyed in the occupied European countries. The Jews were thus the only people in Europe deprived of virtually any possibility of a cultural life, in whatever form it might have manifested itself.

Apart from this, there are a few fundamental differences in the character of the problem as such. Space does not permit the mention of more than three: First, the problem of the enforced illiteracy of tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of Jewish children who were, during five years of the war, deprived of every possibility of acquiring even the minimum of education.

Second, there is the problem of Jewish children reared in Christian homes and institutions to save them from deportation and death. Their number reaches several thousand, perhaps tens of thou-

sands, especially in France, but also in other countries. This problem is twofold: first, that of inducing foster parents or institutions to return the children to their people and, second, that of eliminating the tragedy from the soul of the child resulting from the artificially induced upheaval in its religious education.

There is a third aspect to the question: How can the child who witnessed and survived the inferno of Jewish life under Nazi domination be converted into a member of human society with a more or less normal attitude not only toward the Germans, but toward all other nations as well? A child who has seen the passive indifference of the surrounding population, and in many cases the active participation in deeds of terror, must inevitably come to the conclusion that all humanity is corrupt and foul. No real cultural reconstruction will be possible, unless this educational problem is solved first.

II

The problems of cultural reconstruction of European Jewry are not of the same nature in the different European countries. European Jewry may from this point of view be subdivided into three categories at least: (1) the Jews in the Western and most of the Central European countries, where a system of Jewish education in the form of a number of Jewish institutions hardly existed, and among whom the process of cultural assimilation was rather advanced; (2) the Jews in Eastern Europe (with the exception of the U.S.S.R.), renowned for their determined Jewish cultural and spiritual life and great network of Jewish educational institutions; and (3) the Jews in the U.S.S.R. who must be separately classified, not only because of the marked peculiarities of their cultural life as already evidenced before the war, but also because the Soviet Union is the only country in Europe that was only partially occupied by the Nazis, and for whom liberation came at an earlier date than it did for other occupied territories.

True, for the Jews of Western Europe the main problem will, on

the one hand, be the reconstruction of important Jewish research and cultural institutions, especially libraries and institutions of Jewish academic learning, and, on the other hand, the reintegration of Jewish children into the educational life of those countries.

In Eastern European countries, especially in Poland and to a certain degree in Rumania and Czechoslovakia, a strong cultural life existed in all its possible forms. To restore this life to its prewar stature will be a tremendous task, complicated not only because of the great number of reforms concerned, but also because of the tragic process of extermination which reduced the Jewish population, especially in Poland, to a fraction of its prewar size. This may automatically provoke the question whether it is worth while to resurrect this ramified machinery for a reduced population, or is it not preferable to seek new ways to satisfy the expected needs of the Jewish population? On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the Jewish cultural problem in almost all these countries was before the war, and may remain so in the future, a problem of cultural autonomy, and cultural minority rights respectively, and that the solution of such problems may be much more difficult after the war if—as may easily happen in view of the expected deportation of German minorities and also in view of the reshaping of Poland's territory—the Jews will remain the only national minority of any significance in all these countries. One additional factor may still be mentioned. Nothing has remained of prewar Jewish economic positions; only a few may possibly be recovered in the future. The mass readjustment for new professions without an intensified process of education can scarcely be envisaged. Very likely, this problem may affect Eastern European Jewry chiefly, since the Jews in Western Europe, in view of their relatively smaller number (even after the war), may meet with less difficulty in resuming their former professions.

Most problematic is the cultural reconstruction of Russian Jewry. It may be considered as fairly certain that, within the limits of the

general reconstruction of the country, the cultural interests of the Jewish population will be taken care of adequately, just as will their economic and social needs; in this connection, more may depend on the tendency of the Jews themselves than on the good will of the Russian authorities, which may be taken for granted. Whether a noteworthy change of Jewish cultural life in the U.S.S.R. may be expected, due to the re-established contact between Russian Jews and the Jewish people throughout the world, remains to be seen.

There is also the problem of the Jews in Bessarabia and the Baltic countries. The *niveau* of Jewish cultural life in these territories, especially in Bessarabia and Lithuania, before the war was not less strong than that of Poland. Should Lithuanian and Bessarabian Jewry simply be incorporated in Jewish life as it exists throughout the Soviet Union? Then, as in the case of Russian Jewry, no prophecy can be made in this connection. However, the possibility of a cultural renaissance in these countries is certainly not excluded.

III

What about the organizational and financial problems of Jewish cultural reconstruction? This problem will, to a very considerable degree, be combined with the problem of the restitution of Jewish property. Libraries and archives stolen by the Nazis will have to be returned (in the case of large Jewish libraries, such as those of Warsaw and Wilno, this may well be possible, since in all probability they were removed to Frankfurt am Main and placed at the disposal of Nazi so-called "Institutes for Judaism"). The same may apply to the buildings and movables of Jewish cultural institutions. On the other hand, it has been suggested that at least part of revindicated Jewish property, whose owners cannot be found after the present war, be turned over to the Jewish people and used to cover the expenses of Jewish cultural reconstruction. However, it is clear that only a fraction of the required budget can be secured in this way. There remain three additional sources from which assistance can

and will be expected; namely, the governments of the respective countries, intergovernmental institutions (especially UNRRA and the newly created United Nations Organization for Education and Cultural Reconstruction), and, last but not least, the Jewish population outside of Europe, especially in this country.

There is not much to be said, at this point, about the first two sources. It is clear, or in any case ought to be taken for granted, that the cultural needs of the Jewish population will be taken care of by governmental and intergovernmental agencies just as will the needs of other parts of the population. It may well be advisable to take up these problems now, especially with the governments of Poland and Rumania, and perhaps also with those of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The main problem to be considered at the present moment remains that of assistance to be granted by American Jewry in reconstructing Jewish cultural life in Europe. The role which the Jewish community in this country will have to play in this respect can hardly be overestimated. It may be compared only with the expected role of the Jewish community in Palestine. Palestine, in all likelihood, cannot render considerable financial assistance for Jewish cultural reconstruction in Europe. But it may, for example, by sending editors and writers and leaders of youth movements, by issuing papers, books, and publications play a very great and perhaps even a decisive role in this process. The work done by Palestinian Jews and especially by Jewish soldiers from Palestine during the present war in Libya and Italy and also in a few other countries shows clearly how great the possibilities are in this field.

The position of American Jewry in this respect will be much more difficult. America is regarded more as a source of financial assistance than as a moral, cultural, or educational support. However, not less important will be the assistance in many other forms. There are no Hebrew or Yiddish books in the European countries. Efforts are now being made on the part of the Yiddish Scientific Institute and

the Hebrew Cultural Organization, and perhaps other organizations also, to prepare shipments of books to be sent to liberated Europe at the first opportunity. The same must be done with regard to prayer books, textbooks, and equipment for schools and other educational and cultural institutions.

Large funds will, of course, be required. Buildings will have to be repaired or reconstructed. Salaries will have to be paid. Many things will have to be secured on the spot. The feeding of school children and restoration of their health will have to be taken care of in very many cases.

IV

The cooperation of American Jewry must not take on the character of philanthropists toward their "poor relations." It ought to be given in the same spirit of human and national solidarity which is the outstanding feature of the role of Palestine Jewry in the present war. Investigators will have to be sent to Europe to ascertain together with representatives of European Jewry the character and the scope of the work to be done. Proper candidates will have to be found in this country and sent to Europe for several years; they should be chosen primarily from among refugees and recent immigrants. Experience with these elements during the last war were not always the best, but this may have been due more to insufficient preparation than to any intrinsic faults of their own. But even American-born or educated candidates may be very useful. New methods will have to be found and the contribution of American Jews with their practical sense coupled with a thorough sociological preparation may be of great importance in this process of reorganization.

Details can hardly be fixed at the present moment. There are too many unknown factors to be taken into consideration: the number of European Jews, the number of children among them, their physical and mental condition after the war. These may be cited as a few rather important examples. Representatives of American Jewry are

now in Europe. They are mainly on the battlefields, but they also come in contact with the Jewish population and will come in closer contact in the very near future. It is of primary importance to have as an example the American Jewish soldiers instructed regarding their attitude toward European Jews in general and the moral and cultural help to be granted to them. Provisional courses, libraries, lectures, schools organized by soldiers are, as far as their immediate result is concerned, of greater importance than the work done by even more qualified civilians.

Those who are being sent to Europe to investigate the existing needs and possibilities in the field of relief and rehabilitation should include experts in the field of culture and education. In the field of relief to children, educational and spiritual problems can hardly be separated from problems of immediate physical relief. But even for the older generation in Europe the danger of moral breakdown after the inferno of Nazi domination is too great and too imminent to be disregarded in the plans that are already under way.

Finally, problems of culture and education must be taken into consideration in whatever is now being done to prepare social workers for Europe. Unfortunately, very little is being done in this field at the present moment. The Jewish organizations for culture and education in this country must have at least some of their members prepared for this work.

The program as outlined roughly in the present article must begin as soon as possible. It deserves to be taken up by the most competent persons among us. Out of the realization of the tremendous duties resting upon American Jewry in this field may arise an effort commensurable, at least to a certain degree, with the magnitude of the problem and the unique character of its expected solution.

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Part II. What Can Be Done—The Responsibility of the General Community

THE ROLE OF JUDAISM IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

Robert Gordis

The end of this global conflict will mark perhaps the greatest catastrophe in Jewish history, with one quarter of the Jewish people, some four million souls, dead as a result of the cold-blooded Nazi program of extermination. It may therefore be doubted whether there is any future role in the world for the complex of values, insights, and practices, called Judaism, that were evolved by the Jewish people through its long historic experience. To maintain that a small, weak people, after being decimated, can contribute creatively to the postwar world may well seem an extreme example of collective megalomania.

Nonetheless, the history of culture bears testimony to the fact that there is no necessary correlation between size and spiritual significance. The two mightiest cultural legacies of the ancient world, that of Greece and Israel, were the achievements of small, politically insignificant peoples, who never succeeded in achieving the monolithic mass empires so fashionable with ancient and modern dictators. Jewish history in particular is replete with instances of great creations emerging out of periods of acute catastrophe.

It is therefore not ruled out that even a badly battered Israel may still have a significant contribution to make to the world of tomorrow. Because so many of the ideals of Judaism are shared by Christianity, it is clear that this contribution will be made by Jews not in isolation but rather in cooperation with their Christian fellow citizens. The frightful carnage of the Second World War can be justified only if it proves to be a steppingstone toward the fulfillment of the highest ideals of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

The nature of this tradition, however, is often misunderstood. Liberals within Judaism, perhaps even more than within Christianity, often tend to regard the teachings of both elements in the tradition as virtually identical. They overlook the fact that even a literal translation of a text means a new incarnation, while a new phrasing of an idea may bear only a partial resemblance to the original. Modern civilization, which has been molded by Christianity, has by that token learned much from Judaism. But even early Christianity itself is no mere restatement of Pharisaic Judaism. The early Christian community was a group that had affinities both with the Pharisees and with the Essenes, who were themselves a pietistic offshoot of Pharisaism with marked ascetic tendencies. But it was not identical with either. Christianity accepted much of normative Judaism, to be sure, but there was much that it rejected or ignored or reinterpreted. These elements represent the area of difference between the two components of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Now it is noteworthy that precisely in this area, where the traditional Christian outlook and the Jewish viewpoint do not coincide, many of the basic problems of the world are to be sought. In bringing its specific insights to bear on these issues, Judaism still has its own contribution to make, beyond those attitudes it holds in common with Christianity. We may briefly indicate three such problems of the contemporary world—the future of democracy, international peace, and intergroup relations. Discussion of other significant attitudes of Judaism that have been imperfectly understood, such as its approach to family morality and the moral discipline of law, must be deferred for another occasion.

Perhaps the most critical question the world must answer is the *future of democracy*. The present war is being fought by the United Nations so that the democratic ideal may have one more chance, perhaps the very last, to fulfill its promise. Totalitarianism did not arise merely because of the innate depravity of human nature. If the past is any clue, we are certain to face a new upsurge of fascist propa-

ganda in the difficult readjustment period after the war, if we seek to content ourselves with the mere preservation of democratic forms. Upon the foundation of political freedom, a democratic world must build the edifice of security. Men must never again be faced with the agonizing alternatives of freedom and security. They must be given the opportunity of achieving both.

The problem is, however, more easily stated than solved. Economic security for the people requires a program of public works and government control which affects not only the economic sphere, but indirectly other elements of man's being. Unfortunately, the exercise of power always breeds the lust for more power, and the menace of the all-powerful state is more than a figment of the imagination conjured up by reactionaries. A determined effort to build economic security through a broad program of social legislation must be coupled with an equally vigilant determination to resist encroachments upon the rights of individuals and minorities.

To achieve this goal of balancing freedom and security is not easy. It will require the mobilization of all our spiritual resources. Here Judaism has several contributions to make. The first lies in the spirit motivating the drive for social progress. Jewish tradition has always stressed justice as the basis of society, but the prophets of Israel were no class agitators or plebeian tribunes. If social justice is to be achieved on a broad basis of unity rather than class conflict, we need to recapture the prophetic conviction that justice is the basic law of the universe binding on *all* men, and that its achievement is the fulfillment of the will of God. In Isaiah's words, "The Lord of Hosts is exalted through justice and God the Holy One sanctified through righteousness."

The second contribution is the stress which Judaism, in common with Christianity, places upon the inviolability of the individual soul, whose rights are inalienable since they derive from its own nature, or, as religion puts it, from its Maker. Thus the Judeo-Christian tradition is likely to prove a great defense against the

dangerous delusion that the state is more important than the individual, or that the individual exists for the state.

The third great contribution which is more uniquely characteristic of Judaism is closely linked to the second. All too often, the insistence of religion upon the individual soul has been isolated from the context of social action, with the result that it has been utilized to oppose progress. In many circles, religion is therefore dismissed as a rationale for reaction, or, in the now classic phrase, as an opiate for the people. Biblical religion, however, cannot fairly be charged with this tragic error. The social legislation of the Pentateuch attempted to deal constructively with the rights of the underprivileged, the prevention of monopoly, and the relief and elimination of poverty. Such institutions as the Sabbath rest for slaves, the year of release, the jubilee, taxation for relief of the poor, and various housing and sanitary regulations represented a concrete approach to social problems. This was maintained and extended in the monumental legislation of the Talmud to include the growing rights of women, the protection of children, and the position of free labor.

It is now all but universally admitted that the grossest inequalities of the social order must be adjusted largely through government action. But the stress upon the rights of the individual and the importance of the spiritual and ethical education of men remains the supremely important task of religion. These are not two distinct functions, but two inseparable aspects of the same goal. Judaism, which has never forgotten the cry of social justice, is therefore in the best position to urge the claim of individual freedom.

To solve the conflict between the demands of security and the ideal of freedom, increasing numbers of social students are beginning to realize that a monolithic economic structure must be avoided. What is required is an economy in which free private enterprise will exist side by side with government regulation of important industries and public ownership of the most fundamental services. Many feel that the far-flung cooperative movement, because of its voluntary

character, will prove highly valuable. The total economic control imposed by communism seems inseparable from the uniformity of outlook and the suppression of freedom of thought which characterize the Soviet Union, even today when it is allied with the Western democracies.

In this connection, the new Jewish homeland being created in Palestine in the face of great obstacles is of tremendous significance. As indicated in Dr. Berkson's article, the new colonies are a striking demonstration of the possibility of economic mutuality going hand in hand with sturdy intellectual freedom and uncompromising individuality of outlook. One of the first institutions created by the Zionists was the Jewish National Fund, which is the land-purchasing agency for the Jewish people in Palestine and owns today over 50,000 acres. What is important is the spirit pervading its activities which are carried on both vis-à-vis the Arabs and within the Jewish community. As is well known, Jewish purchasers pay prices that are many times higher than the value of the land. Nonetheless, the J.N.F. makes available to Arabs who are dispossessed by such purchases other land should they wish to continue as farmers. Most important of all is the fact that the J.N.F. land can never be sold but only leased, and that only to families prepared to work the soil themselves. The land remains the inalienable property of the Jewish people—a remarkable and unique instance of social idealism and intergroup justice in action.

Thus both in theory and in practice Judaism has a contribution to make to the future of democracy. But before democracy can fulfill its destiny, mankind must meet the bloody threat of *nationalism*, which paradoxically has grown in violence and belligerence in a world increasingly interdependent economically and culturally. In our own day we have witnessed the rebirth of the true spirit of religion in the devoted priests, ministers, and laymen of Catholicism and Protestantism in Germany and Scandinavia who alone dared to

oppose the Nazi juggernaut. Yet a religious concept of nationalism still remains a *desideratum*.

It is noteworthy that Judaism, so often charged with particularism and a lack of universalism, has elaborated an attitude toward group loyalties which is of value today. The dichotomy between universalism and particularism is a purely artificial invention of theologians. In the Hebrew prophets, who represent the quintessence of the Jewish spirit, it does not exist.

It is the sheerest confusion to equate their nationalism with fascism, which represents national loyalty at the acme of its power and the nadir of its degradation. Fascism is the great curse of the twentieth century. To escape it, many men of good will have been led to embrace the opposite ideal of cosmopolitanism. They dream of a world language (usually their own), a single culture, one religion (if any), and a world state.

This doctrine, which takes countless forms, has a superficial attractiveness that disappears upon mature consideration. The ideal of uniformity is neither practical nor worth while. The peace treaties at the end of the First World War created a dozen new national states in Europe; and the Soviet Union, by its liberal policy regarding ethnic minorities, has encouraged the emergence of national consciousness among countless groups previously suppressed in Czarist Russia.

What solution is there in this dilemma between the Scylla of destructive nationalism and the Charybdis of colorless cosmopolitanism? The answer was indicated by the Prophets of Israel who looked forward not to the elimination but to the moralization of nations. Amos, the Hebrew prophet, castigated Moab for its cruelty to Edom and did not spare his own people in condemning their moral weaknesses. The Prophet expected nations to maintain their specific national character, but to govern their mutual relations by the standards of justice, thus achieving international peace.

The famous vision of world peace in Isaiah (Chap. 2) and Micah (Chap. 4) has become so familiar as to lose its effect for most readers today, who regard it as an idyllic dream for a distant future. Actually, it makes two basic contributions to the technique of world peace: first, that *nations* will continue to exist in the future, and, second, that the nations must accept a higher *law* as binding upon them in their relations with one another.

Judaism, in brief, regards national loyalty not as an unfortunate accident, but as a potential source of creative and cooperative achievement for humanity. It therefore serves to underscore a religious approach to the problem of world peace. Religion must cease to be the handmaiden of national chauvinism on the one hand, or pretend that group loyalties and interests are nonexistent or baneful. It must insist that nationalism be cultural in content and ethical in expression, being rooted in the fundamental brotherhood of men. In stressing these truths, Judaism can draw upon the rich fund of insights available in its tradition as almost nowhere else.

One more critical problem faces the democratic state—*group relations* within the nation itself. It is undeniable that organized religion during many periods of its history has been guilty of cruel persecution for conscience's sake. In our own day, religious and pseudoreligious differences are being used as the spearheads of great movements of intolerance.

The early elimination of religion is generally recognized as unlikely of success. Hence, tolerance is frequently urged on the score that all religions are alike or at least of equal value. This admission comes easiest to those who have no deep personal loyalty to any particular religious faith. The pious Catholic, the convinced Protestant, or the fervent Jew who is prepared to bring sacrifices for his tradition will necessarily regard his faith as being more than merely "as good as" another. The so-called liberal cults that preach the equal value of all religions are numerically insignificant and do not come to grips with the real problem of building religious tolerance.

What is required is a formula for retaining fullhearted loyalty to one's tradition and yet finding room for the parallel existence of other interpretations of reality. It is a matter of record that the great historical faiths in the past did not evolve a philosophy of tolerance. Christianity and Mohammedanism each claimed to be the sole highway to salvation, generally consigning all nonbelievers to damnation.

Only traditional Judaism, which did not yield an inch in its conviction that it was the true religion, did include other faiths within its scheme of things. In the Rabbinic period, this great step was taken with the elaboration of the conception of the Noachide Laws. According to the rabbis, there are great religious and moral duties incumbent upon the non-Jew, the fulfillment of which makes him worthy of salvation on a par with the Israelite who has observed the entire Law, which is binding upon him because he is a member of the priest-people. These foundations of civilization include abstinence from idolatry and blasphemy, from murder and sexual immorality and theft, and eating a limb of a living animal, besides the positive obligation to establish a government of law and order. Beyond these fundamentals, the non-Jew was free to maintain whatever beliefs or practices he preferred. This far-reaching attitude, combining fervent attachment to one's own faith and a sympathetic understanding of others, is reflected in Maimonides's noble judgment on Christianity and Mohammedanism from whose intolerance he himself had suffered: "Thanks to these new religions, the world has been filled with the words of the Law and the Commandments, and these words have now been spread to the farthest islands and the outermost nations." This point of view was possible because Jewish teachers in the Talmudic period had recognized that religious duties fell into two classes: (a) the ritual enactments, and (b) the ethical laws, to which the ritual is expected to minister. It must not be forgotten that this distinction between the kernel of religion and the forms and rites in which it is

embodied stemmed from men who did not dismiss the rites as secondary or unimportant, but, on the contrary, loved each element of their traditional way of life.

The Talmudic sages were followed by the medieval Jewish philosophers beginning with Saadia in the tenth century, who divided the commandments in Judaism into (a) those dictated by *human* reason and hence binding upon all men and (b) those originating in *divine revelation* and binding upon Israel alone.

To restate these ideas in modern terms, all men must share a common body of primary ideals regarding their relationship to each other and the world. But the rites in which they express their allegiance to them and the secondary elements of their world view will differ in character and even in value, being the products of the historic experience of their respective groups. Each man will naturally love the forms of ancestral piety nearest to him, but that must and need not deprive him of a sense of comradeship with his fellows.

Basically these represent the special contribution Judaism can make to postwar reconstruction. For it can help teach men how to achieve the necessary balance between social progress and individual freedom, between world cooperation and national loyalties, and between religious fervor and intergroup understanding.

In addition to this, Judaism stands shoulder to shoulder with Christianity in furthering those humanitarian ideals which are the heart of the democratic faith. The quest may be arduous and long, but success is assured, if men go forward together.

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JEWISH PALESTINE IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

Isaac B. Berkson

The tendency today is to discuss the place of Palestine in the postwar world principally from the point of view of the refugee problem. This aspect of the problem is urgent, and from the short-range point of view may be said to be the most important. Palestine can make a greater contribution in solving the problem of the Jewish refugees than any other single country. Nevertheless, from the long-range point of view, there are other equally important purposes that a Jewish Palestine can serve. The full part that Palestine can play in the reconstruction of Jewish life in the postwar world can be properly understood only in the light of the Zionist analysis of the Jewish problem.

Zionism and the Jewish problem. The goal of Zionism, as formulated by the First Zionist Congress which met in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897, is: "To establish for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine." This purpose received the approval of the British Government in the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, which stated that: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people"; adding the proviso, "that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." The most recent official statement of the Zionist aspiration is contained in the Biltmore Resolution adopted by an Extraordinary Zionist Conference in New York City on May 11, 1942. This calls for "the fulfillment of the original purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate which, recognizing the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, was to afford them the opportunity . . . to found there a Jewish Commonwealth."

These three pronouncements—the Basle Program, the Balfour

Declaration, and the Biltmore Resolution—have the identical aim of providing a home for the Jewish people in their ancient land, to which Jews who so choose may return to live in freedom and security. The Zionist program arose as a protest against the various types of disabilities and persecutions Jews continued to suffer even at the dawn of the twentieth century. Stated in more positive terms, the Zionist program embodies a demand for genuine equality—for Jews as individuals and for the Jewish people to develop a Jewish life in Palestine in harmony with its traditions and ideals.

As more fully indicated by other contributors to this issue, during medieval times, despite many discriminations, the Jews could maintain an autonomous organization and a distinctive Jewish life: the Jewish community was ruled by Jewish law and its cultural life was nourished by religious and educational institutions. The rise of the modern democratic state made impossible the continuance of the distinctive Jewish way of life in any genuine sense. Theoretically based on the rights of the individual, the democratic state was erected on the foundation of the national history, language, and legal system of each people. Inevitably, this meant the end of Jewish legal and cultural autonomy and a reduction of the Jewish association to matters of belief and practice; indeed, the demands of the modern state made a genuine fulfillment of the Jewish religion impossible, since traditional Judaism required a basis in Jewish law, a background of Hebrew literature, and the support of a system of Hebrew education. It is of the essence of the Zionist analysis to point out that this denial of Jewish autonomy in the modern state was not the result of any arbitrary decision unfriendly to the Jews, but resulted from the need of maintaining a homogeneous culture and education as the basis for the national life.

Zionists believe that their analysis of the European situation has proved only too tragically correct in the period since the First World War; and they hold that after this war the basic elements of the Jewish problem will still remain unsolved. However complete the

victory of the United Nations will be, a Jewish homeland in Palestine will be indispensable, with three great functions to perform: (1) to serve as a Jewish spiritual and cultural center; (2) to make a contribution to the solution of anti-Semitism; (3) to provide a haven for refugees.

Palestine as a Jewish spiritual and cultural center. If the Jewish cultural and religious tradition is to be carried forward, a center of Jewish life is needed where Jews can organize their own social forms, speak a language which they choose, and educate their children in the traditions which they hold sacred. Palestine, for historical reasons, is the only place where such a cultural and spiritual center in the full sense of the term could be developed. It would offer a spiritual haven for those Jews who wish to live a full Jewish life, speaking in Hebrew, studying Jewish literature, keeping the Sabbath and the holidays, and practising the religious precepts in a congenial environment. That this is one of the main functions of Zionism is demonstrated by the conspicuous cultural achievements of Jewish Palestine—the resurrection of Hebrew as a spoken language, the renaissance of Hebrew literature, the establishment of the Hebrew University, and many another manifestation of a revitalized national culture, such as the revival of the communal observance of the Sabbath and various festivals. The existence of a flourishing center of the national culture would not only serve the Jews who live in Palestine, but would exercise a strengthening influence on the attenuated forms of Judaism and Jewish life still possible in each country, in conformity with its own conditions.

Palestine as an answer to anti-Semitism. Though obviously incompatible in theory with democracy, anti-Semitism evidently is not easily uprooted even in the democratic countries. Despite the genuine belief of the majority of the American people in equality of rights without reference to race, color, and creed, anti-Semitism has been on the increase here in recent decades. We cannot complacently explain this away by reference to Nazi propaganda, for

the quotas in our universities, discrimination against Jews in employment, and restrictions of hotel accommodations to "selective clientele" existed long before the rise of fascism in Europe.

The degree and forms of discrimination practised in the United States may seem unimportant in comparison with the persecution that Jews have experienced throughout the world. But psychologically speaking the subtler forms of anti-Semitism may be cruel enough. They may have a lasting effect on the personality of youth, leading possibly to serious psychic maladjustment, and may bring about a sense of inferiority, cynicism, or rebellion. For some of the victims of these subtler effects of anti-Semitism Palestine may offer a release from psychological tension, since in Palestine Jews can feel themselves as fully acceptable persons. However, such a purpose Palestine can serve only for comparatively few. For the far larger number of Jews who do not return to Palestine, Zionism as a philosophy and conception of Jewish life may provide morale enhancing and character integrating values, since it involves self-knowledge and self-respect and a sense of participation in the destinies and creative achievements of the Jewish people.

A permanent home for the refugees. Palestine thus has a contribution to make in solving the problem of anti-Semitism which might be called the problem of "potential refugees." It also has an important function to perform for those who are already refugees, those who have not been able to, or have not been permitted to, adjust themselves in the country where they have found temporary shelter, and those who will find it impossible to readjust themselves in their home countries after the war. During the last dozen years Palestine has demonstrated its ability to absorb a large number of refugees fleeing from the threat of fascism in Central Europe and economic attrition in Eastern Europe.

Despite the many restrictions, Palestine took care of over 250,000 Jews, counting both legal and illegal entrants during the decade from 1933 to 1943. Thus, despite its relatively tiny size, it absorbed

more Jewish refugees than any other country in the world, including the United States—the second largest haven for Jewish refugees—which permitted some 165,000 Jews to enter in the same decade. The Jewish refugees have adjusted themselves well to Palestine, particularly the younger people who have been helped to rebuild their lives by the Youth Aliyah organization under the remarkable Henrietta Szold. A significant feature in the Palestine situation is the fact that the *Yishuv*, as the Jewish community of Palestine is known, welcomes the refugees; the *Histadruth* (Labor Federation) and the *Vaad Leumi* (Jewish National Council) have expended much effort in assisting the refugees to become a useful and organic part of Jewish Palestine.

The spirit with which the Jewish community welcomes the refugees is in marked contrast with the attitude toward them in other countries. The investigation committees of every nation are ready to send the Jews everywhere except where they are wanted and needed, namely, Palestine. As to the desire of the Jews to go there, Mr. David Schweitzer of the American Hias-Ica Emigration Association (Hicem), the largest non-Zionist Jewish emigration agency, recently declared: "Jews of Europe do not engage in debates for or against Palestine, but only think of possibilities of reaching it."

The absorptive capacity of Palestine. The question remains whether Palestine can absorb a large number of immigrants. Past experience indicates that it can. Twenty-five years ago cynical critics declared: "There isn't enough room in Palestine to swing a cat." In the meantime the Jewish population has grown from about 85,000 (in 1922) to 560,000. The remarkable thing is that in this period the Arab population has grown along with the Jewish population from an estimated 650,000 to approximately 1,100,000 today. The great increase in population has been made possible by the improvements wrought by the Jews in Palestine; e.g., reclamation of waste areas, introduction of scientific agriculture, and expansion of industry and commerce, and by the reduction of the death

rate among the Arabs due to better hygienic and economic conditions that have accompanied Jewish immigration.

The future economic development of Palestine depends upon a great many factors, including the energy and enterprise of the present inhabitants and future immigrants, political and economic conditions in the Near East, and the general level of world prosperity. It is generally recognized today that the economic importance of Palestine, which stands at the juncture of three continents, is increasing. Land, sea, and air transportation moving from east to west, and north to south, are making it an important center of international commerce. Arnold J. Toynbee, in the *Survey of International Affairs* of 1934, describes Palestine as holding "a key position in the twentieth century world" between the East and the West "... not incomparable to the position of Great Britain as the *entrepôt* between Europe and the Americas" in the nineteenth. Palestine has also developed important industries; during the war it has surged forward as the major industrial country in the Near East and is becoming a significant factor in the economic and social revival of this whole area.

It is not possible to make any precise calculation of the potential absorptive capacity of Palestine in the near future. But all authorities agree that it is capable of absorbing a large immigration. Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk of the United States Department of Agriculture, renowned expert in soil conservation, states in his recent book, *Palestine: Land of Promise*, that four million new immigrants could be absorbed into Palestine and Transjordan. His calculation presupposes the full utilization of Palestine's natural resources and the creation of a Jordan Valley Authority modeled after our own Tennessee Valley Authority. F. Lawrence Babcock, who has recently made a firsthand study of the Near East situation, suggests in the October 1944 issue of *Fortune* that, on the basis of conservative calculations, Palestine will be able to absorb from 400,000 to 800,000

new immigrants during the next ten-year period, over and above the expected natural increase of the present population.

These calculations of the absorptive capacity of Palestine make provision for the native Arab population and the large natural increase that may be expected. The Jewish Commonwealth proposal assumes the continued development of the Arab people in Palestine. It proposes not only to cooperate with the existing population but to help them achieve a higher economic level and higher standards in public education and public health. The Zionist conception of the Jewish Commonwealth implies complete equality for all individuals—Arabs and Jews alike—and assumes cultural equality for the two peoples: Arabic as well as Hebrew would be recognized as an official language and there would be an Arab school system parallel to the Hebrew school system.

As is well known, there are great political difficulties involved in the establishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine; despite economic advantages the Arab political leaders have steadily opposed Jewish immigration and land purchases, and the creation of the Jewish home. Palestine is only a tiny area of ten thousand square miles in a vast realm of more than two million square miles dominated by Arabs. Nevertheless, they regard it as a Moslem land and have continuously refused to share government with the Jews, let alone to agree to Jewish predominance. Whatever may be the solution of the political question, which is not the subject of this article, it is clear that there are no inherent economic difficulties in making Palestine a great center of Jewish life that would provide a focus for religious, spiritual, and cultural aspirations and at the same time make a major contribution to the solution of the refugee problem.

Palestine, an indispensable factor in the solution of the Jewish problem. Needless to say, Zionism does not envisage an evacuation of Jews from all over the world to Palestine. There are, perhaps,

some extremists who entertain such a notion, but this represents neither the desire of the Jews nor the potentialities of Palestine. Moreover, no Jews should be forced to go to Palestine; Zionists are united with all other Jews in insisting on equal rights for Jews in every country. What Zionism proposes is that the doors of Palestine be kept open so that all Jews who need to, or who choose to, may find there a haven of refuge, where they may live the type of life that is for them spiritually and culturally most satisfying; and where they will be liberated from the disabilities and suppressions attaching to the status of a minority, even a "tolerated" minority. While not a *total* solution of the Jewish problem, Zionism may be regarded as an *indispensable* factor in any solution, in the sense that no real attack on the Jewish problem, in its spiritual and material phases, can be made without a Jewish Palestine. Moreover, the solution which it contemplates might well be called an *integrated* solution of the Jewish problem, since it aims to create unified personalities, to satisfy at once material needs and spiritual strivings.

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ANTI-SEMITISM

Nathan Reich

The age-old phenomenon of anti-Semitism, which for a time appeared to dissolve under the influence of a liberal democratic philosophy of life, has staged an amazing recovery in the last two decades. The focal point of the comeback is, of course, the Third Reich. The last decade witnessed the almost unparalleled spectacle of a government representing 80,000,000 of western people declaring war first on a helpless minority of 600,000 German Jews and then carrying this war to Jewish communities all over the world,

culminating in the physical destruction of three to four million helpless Jews. Simultaneously a systematic anti-Semitic propaganda campaign sponsored and financed by Germany spread to the four corners of the world for the purpose of undermining the status of those Jewish communities beyond the reach of the Nazi might. As a result, anti-Semitism (which has enjoyed a sporadic existence for centuries) has attained a level of theoretical and organizational solidity which threatens not only the continued existence of the Jews themselves, but comes in profound conflict with the very foundations of the liberal democratic way of life, based on the rights of the individual regardless of religious and racial origin.

Anti-Semitism is a social phenomenon and represents a special aspect of the general problem of social behavior and group conflict. Theories of anti-Semitism range from the almost fatalistic psychological theory of the irrational, irreducible hate factor to the various rational explanations in terms of religion, race, nationalism, or other rationally conceived and identifiable factors operating in human life.

With the popularization of the Marxian economic interpretation of history there is a tendency to apply the tenets of that theory to the problem of anti-Semitism to the complete neglect of other factors. In the light of this doctrine anti-Semitism is variously described as the expression of envy felt by the poor Gentile population for "Jewish" wealth; as the reflection of competition for jobs between Jewish and non-Jewish applicants; as the expression of resentment against the "undue" Jewish concentration in certain well-paid professions and important branches of trade; as a defense mechanism of the non-Jewish population against the commercial keenness and general economic aggressiveness exhibited by Jews; as an expression of annoyance with the Jewish preference for urban white-collar and other "light" occupations; as the expression of antagonism generated by the "sharp" practices of Jewish merchants; and finally as the result of a conscious attempt at fanning the flames of anti-

Semitism on the part of "capitalists" in order to divert the attention of the "masses" from their exploiters, and to direct mass discontent to the relatively "safe" channels of Jew hatred.

This economic theory of anti-Semitism suffers from the shortcomings of the economic interpretation of history. It is simply inadequate. It does not explain all the manifestations of anti-Semitism. A few illustrations may reveal the failure of fitting the phenomenon of anti-Semitism into the economic straightjacket. It is, for instance, well known that for centuries the Jews enjoyed legal equality in the Roman Empire, and that the first discriminatory legislation was introduced only with the advent of Christian domination under Constantine.¹ Yet during that period there had been no basic changes either in the general economic structure or in the economic conditions under which the Jews lived and worked. It is also generally observed that in spite of similarity of economic conditions in Christian and Islamic countries during certain periods the latter have on the whole shown a more tolerant attitude toward their Jewish communities.² Yet, while these facts point to organized Christianity as the instigator of anti-Jewish measures, it is also true that the Church counseled moderation in times when rulers and populace were bent upon the physical destruction of the Jew. Furthermore, anti-Semitism today was elevated to the status of a religion by National Socialism—itself tinged with a strong anti-Christian bias.

During the Middle Ages, it is true, the flames of anti-Semitism were continually fed by charges that the Jews were usurers, parasites, and a menace to economic welfare; and the recurrent outbursts of popular feeling inspired by envy and greed were frequently used as a convenient method of transferring Jewish property into the hands of non-Jews. Incontestible as these facts are, the question still remains regarding the extent to which these charges were rationalizations of rather than reasons for such action. The Lombards too

¹ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ten vols. (Berlin, 1928-1935), vol. II, p. 975.

² Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), vol. I, p. 315 ff.

were engaged in large-scale usury and while history records flare-ups of popular feeling against them, such occasional antagonism never acquired the depth and persistency of the anti-Jewish movement. While the looting of Jewish property during the Crusades was undoubtedly motivated by economic greed, it is significant that this greed was most easily aroused against Jewish property. Obviously, behind the facade of economic motivation there must have been a residuum of other motives which alone gave free play to the contributory economic motive.

Similarly inadequate are some of the other "economic" causes. For centuries the charge was repeatedly made that Jews engage in "unproductive" occupations, and that the cause of anti-Jewishness resides in this economic parasitism. Yet when, as a result of political emancipation and industrial revolution, Jews promptly availed themselves of the widening area of economic opportunity and rapidly began diversifying their economic structure, achieving a measure of material success at least equal to that obtained by any other group, the charge was promptly heard that it is precisely their economic success and their desire to penetrate all economic avenues that generate hostility toward them.

Certainly the full fury of National Socialism against Jews cannot be reduced to economic terms. It is true that many adherents were lured into the Hitler camp by the prospect of occupying the economic posts vacated by the ousted Jews. Yet were Hitler guided by purely economic considerations he would have listened to Schacht and not to Streicher.

Similarly, no noticeable economic change has occurred in Italian economy or in the economic position of Italian Jewry that could serve as an explanation for Mussolini's transition from his frequently expressed philo-Semitism to the policy of Hitlerian racialism.

It is thus fair to conclude that anti-Semitism is a many-headed creature. It has been practised in so many quarters, under so many different groups, and has been motivated by so many frequently

contradictory motives that an attempt to fit the facts into one single rational formula does violence to the facts or to the doctrine.

The persistence of Gentile-Jewish antagonism, no matter how variously rationalized, points to the irrational basis of anti-Semitism. It springs from the same irrational motives which have been the source of intergroup conflict since the dawn of history. It is the manifestation of antagonism displayed by the dominant group against the "alien," the nonconformist in their midst. Human history could be written in terms of conflict between the homogeneous and heterogeneous, the familiar and the strange. The Jew has everywhere remained an identifiable minority. The antagonism displayed toward Jews is thus simply a special manifestation of the age-long phenomenon of xenophobia. If there appears to be a difference between the degree of hostility shown to non-Jewish minorities as compared with that displayed toward the Jewish minority, it is due to the fact that the cumulative effect of the conflict between the Gentile peoples and the universal and eternal Jewish minority has transformed a quantitative into what seems to some a qualitative difference. Anti-Semitism is simply antagonism toward a minority in perpetuum.

The irrational basis of anti-Semitism, however, does not imply that the latter is devoid of its rational aspects. While its basis is irrational, the purpose and technique of any particular anti-Semitic movement come within the sphere of rationality. In the Middle Ages, when religion swayed men's thoughts and action, the cause of anti-Semitism was interpreted to reside in the religious conflict between Christianity and Judaism and conversion was held out as the price for equality. Later, when nationalism began swaying men's thinking and feeling, national and linguistic differences were held to account for Gentile-Jewish animosity and complete national assimilation was demanded as the price of Jewish emancipation. More recently, the racial philosophy of Nazism pointed to the basic incompatibility between the Jewish and Aryan races and demanded

the physical extirpation of the Jews as the logical solution of the problem.

It is within this sphere of the purposive and rational expression of the elemental and irrational Judophobia that the relevance of the economic factor resides. Economics—dealing with the most important task of providing a livelihood—is of central significance in the business of life. Economic activity has always absorbed the bulk of human energy. It is, therefore, obvious that the economic factor could not but exert a most powerful influence in shaping Gentile-Jewish relations throughout the Diaspora. The understanding of economic conditions may frequently throw light on the extent, form, and intensity of Gentile-Jewish antagonism. Favorable economic conditions helped to counteract the “natural” antagonism and keep it within bounds of some tolerable *modus vivendi*; while unfavorable economic factors frequently fanned this antagonism to the white heat of active discrimination, expulsion, or even physical extermination of the Jewish minority.

The historical experience of the Jews offers many instances which illustrate the role played by the economic factor in the shaping of Gentile-Jewish relations. In the early Middle Ages, Jews were among the leading carriers of international trade. On the other hand, the late Middle Ages witnessed a gradual rise of native merchant classes who succeeded in wresting commercial control from the Jews. The latter were gradually relegated to petty moneylending and petty trade. In the face of declining economic significance of the Jews their political and social status deteriorated. The economic significance of the Jews, which acted for a time as a mitigating factor offsetting the forces of distrust and hostility, ceased to operate as soon as native merchants moved into the position hitherto occupied by Jews. The reason for tolerating “the alien” disappeared or declined in cogency. Hence the much harsher treatment of the Jews in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. Instances when nations encouraged the influx of alien groups when needed and developed

resentment and opposition against them, once the invited group had fulfilled its special function, are not confined to Jews. That the reaction against the Jewish minority has invariably been more severe and frequently resulted in destruction of life or expulsion is simply due to the fact that, in the case of Jews who differed from the majority in religion, racial origin, and frequently in language and garb, the degree of "alienness" is much greater.

While the pioneering role of Jews in the development of commerce earned the Jews a measure of tolerance in some respects, their overwhelming concentration on commercial occupations frequently added fuel to the latent Gentile-Jewish antagonism. It is no mere coincidence that the political emancipation of Jews is associated with the period of industrial and commercial revolutions of the nineteenth century, which assigned to commerce and the bearers of its function a very high place in the scale of social valuation. Whatever is true of commerce is true even to a larger extent of money-lending, and the resulting hostile attitude toward this form of economic activity could not but intensify the ill will toward a religious and cultural minority which for a variety of reasons came to be associated with money trade.

Jewish concentration in commerce and money trade affected Gentile-Jewish relations from still another angle. The main meeting ground of Jews and non-Jews was the market place. In this highly competitive area of bargaining, Jews and non-Jews met in the role of economic combatants—a circumstance which undoubtedly accentuated the common feeling of distrust toward an alien minority. That the identification of the Jew with the merchant was an important ingredient in Gentile-Jewish relationship may be inferred from the greater frequency and greater ease with which anti-Semitic outbursts were aroused in agricultural countries in the East where the Jews for a time actually monopolized trade than in the more industrialized West where Jews formed only a minority in a predominantly native merchant class. This may help to explain why

anti-Semitic agitation has been less successful in Anglo-Saxon countries than in Eastern Europe.

The importance of the economic factor is also evidenced to a certain degree by the relationship between the intensity of anti-Semitism and the degree of economic welfare. The Jewish historian, Menes, taking Germany under observation, attempted to establish a perfect correlation between the phase of the business cycle and the degree of anti-Semitic activity. According to this writer the upward phase of the business cycle is accompanied by relative good will between Jews and Gentiles, while the years of the downward cyclical phase are marked by a deterioration of Gentile-Jewish relations. In the United States a study of classified employment advertisements undertaken by the American Jewish Congress revealed an increase in notices calling for Christian help during the recent years of depression. The American economist, Selig Perlman, expressed a similar idea in pointing out that the Jew is a marginal employee, among the last to be employed during the expanding phase of economy and among the first to be left out in a period of contracting economy. True as these generalizations are, they refer merely to the economic consequences rather than economic causes of anti-Semitism. They rather confirm the thesis that anti-Semitism represents a deep-seated, irrationally motivated state of xenophobia which may remain latent and relatively innocuous in periods of well-being and social tranquillity but can, under the guise of any rational facade, easily assume forms of active discrimination and hostility in times of strain and stress.

The elimination of anti-Semitism is part of the general and painfully slow civilizing process which has raised man from primitive tribalism to the level of a rational human being. It depends on the gradual recognition of cultural differentiation as an asset rather than a liability. The successful elimination of anti-Semitism is intimately linked with the general ascendancy of the democratic idea of basic equality of individuals as well as groups, and their right to pursue

their own ideas and cultivate their own loyalties within the broad framework of the coming social structure. The establishment of a firm, lasting peace based on democratic principles and buttressed by an economic system capable of sustaining a high degree of material welfare should go a long way in the creation of conditions conducive to the resumption of the path of reason which was so rudely shattered by Nazism, the greatest aberration of modern times.

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PROBLEMS OF MINORITIES REGARDING AN INTERNATIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS

Simon Segal

Contrary to the procedure after the First World War, when a Peace Conference was called to deal with the current political, economic, and social problems, the peace is now being made piecemeal through specialized conferences dealing with specific problems. After this war there may or may not be a formal peace conference. Some of the most important questions that will arise in the postwar world have already been solved, or will be solved, by special meetings of the United Nations before the last shot has been fired.

The agreements of Hot Springs, Atlantic City, and Bretton Woods dealing with food, relief and rehabilitation, and finances are chapters in the general peace settlement. However, the most important chapter—that of the protection of human rights—which must underlie all postwar democratic world order has not yet been written.

Various statements of the United Nations have already made clear that only by the establishment of a world order in which the fundamental human rights of all people are secured can there be an

enduring peace. But to date no statement has been made about the specific measures to be undertaken for the protection of human rights and of a democratic order in the postwar world. Some provisions have been made in the armistice agreements of the United Nations with Rumania and Finland. Also, General Eisenhower in his proclamations after crossing the German border stated that the Allied military authorities will not tolerate the existence of any Nazi or pro-totalitarian organizations and abolished all racial legislation. This is a good beginning but it is *only* a beginning. To secure an enduring peace, the elimination of Nazi organizations is not enough. A positive policy of guaranteeing the democratic rights of all peoples is necessary. Such a guarantee cannot be effective unless it is backed by international machinery and enforcement.

The Jews have been the greatest victims of the international anarchy and of the obsolete principle of complete separation between foreign and domestic affairs. Intolerance and persecution by a state of its own minorities, whether racial, political, or religious, eventually becomes a threat to other countries and endangers the peace of the world. Therefore it cannot be considered as a purely local matter. In the present development of international trade, transportation, and means of communication and propaganda, any strict division between the external and internal affairs of a country is impossible. If the international community permits a government to violate in its own country the fundamental principles upon which our civilization is based, that government will eventually become a world menace to civilization itself. The leaders of the United Nations now realize it and hence the various declarations of the United Nations on the future democratic world order. But these declarations may remain an expression of a pious hope if they are not implemented by specific agreements that would make the protection of the fundamental human rights everywhere in the world a definite responsibility of the future world organization.

I

While in the past, the generally accepted principle was that no state has a right to intervene in the internal affairs of another state, the situation in some countries was so shocking that intervention was necessary. However, individual intervention by a single state could seldom be considered as purely selfless and often created greater abuses than those it allegedly tried to eliminate.

To a certain extent, it was recognized that full territorial sovereignty, while acceptable in countries with a regime based on the fundamental principles of civilization, could be greatly limited in countries violating that minimum standard. This resulted in the imposition of special extraterritorial rights for citizens of European and later American nations on countries outside of Christian and European civilization. But the fundamental fact remained that full territorial sovereignty is not possible unless there is a basic similarity in the moral, social, and legal structures of the nations and unless the fundamental principles accepted by the civilized world are a part of the internal regimes. The principle of equality of states can be accepted only if there is a basic acceptance of the general principles which underlie all civilized living.

II

One of the most important consequences of the traditional concept of sovereignty is the complete separation between internal and external affairs. A state can do practically anything to its citizens and no one has a right to interfere. This is highly unrealistic. In the modern world the treatment by the nationals of one state may greatly affect other nations. Nazi Germany has uprooted Jews, socialists, and democrats, has driven them into exile, and thrown them on the mercy of other nations who, according to the traditional concept of international law, had no right to object because the treatment of citizens by their own government is allegedly of a purely internal concern.

During the nineteenth century, the United States and some other progressive governments attempted to introduce the principle of so-called humanitarian intervention in international relations. The United States had protested against the Russian pogroms of the Jews and there are several other examples of such intervention. However, here again, it was intervention by one state and the disadvantages of such individual intervention developed very soon. The obvious answer to such disadvantages was to guarantee, through international multilateral treaties and to substitute collective action to individual action, the protection of human rights, especially of the rights of those who belonging to minorities were the most likely to be victims of discrimination and persecution.

This was recognized in view of the increasing influence of nationalism. Nationalism, during the nineteenth century, was a progressive movement associated with democracy and fighting for the independence of nationalities oppressed by the then existing multinational empires. After the First World War it was thought that with the triumph of the principle of self-determination a peaceful order could be maintained by an international organization, the League of Nations. With the loosening and subsequent complete failure of the League's structure, the minority treaties which were a part of that structure completely disintegrated.

III

The protection of Jewish rights is a part of the general protection of human rights. If the fundamental human liberties are sufficiently secure, there is no need for a special status for the Jews. While the full extent of the special minority problem in Europe is not yet known, it is very likely that the prewar system of protection of minorities will not be re-established. Some suggest the exchange of populations as the best means of solving the thorny minority problem of Europe. It is too early to envisage today the magnitude of such an undertaking, which we believe is neither possible nor ad-

visible. A peaceful postwar democratic Europe could not admit that human rights cannot be guaranteed through national and international measures and that a return to the Hitlerite concept of a race state must be accepted in a civilized world. If the situation in Europe will be such that no effective democracy will exist under which every human being, whatever his nationality or creed, could enjoy sufficient opportunities and rights to which he is entitled, then no exchange of populations will prevent another world war. German minorities of some countries might have to be sent to Germany for their own protection because of the attitude of the majority toward them. However, the very concept of an exchange of populations for the purpose of creating homogeneous states, an admission of the impossibility of guaranteeing fundamental human rights to those who do not belong to the majority, is antidemocratic and should not be accepted.

On the contrary, we should strive to guarantee through national constitutions and international machinery: (1) equality before the law of all inhabitants irrespective of race, creed, nationality, or language; (2) equality of economic opportunity for all inhabitants; (3) freedom of religion; and (4) freedom of all sources of information such as press, radio, etc. These rights should be guaranteed to *all* inhabitants. In addition, equality of political rights should be guaranteed to all citizens and equal opportunities for employment in civil service and government institutions irrespective of race, creed, or language.

These rights should be a part of the constitutions of all the European countries as they are part of the Constitution of the United States and other democratic nations. They also should be guaranteed by an international bill of rights which seems to be the best solution for the future for the protection of human rights. If such an international bill of rights could be obtained after this war, it would considerably decrease in the future the number of disputes among nations with regard to the protection of citizens

abroad and would also guarantee the fundamental rights for those who cannot claim the protection of any country, namely the stateless. It would establish an international minimum standard with regard to the treatment of human beings wherever they may be living and would largely eliminate the excuse for individual intervention by stronger states in the internal affairs of the weaker nations.

The recent Dumbarton Oaks proposals state that one of the purposes of the General International Organization will be "to achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social and humanitarian problems." It also provides for the setting up of a special economic and social council to "... facilitate solutions of international, economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and individual freedoms." Thus, the frame has been created into which a Commission on Human Rights could be fitted in. Of course, the difficulties of arriving at a specific world-wide agreement on the protection of human rights should not be underestimated.

Not all the United Nations have democratic regimes. It is, therefore, unlikely that they would accept any international protection of these rights. Furthermore, even in the countries where the constitutions are democratic, the actual situation is not always in conformity with the terms of the constitutions. To point out the difficulties should, however, not mean the abandonment of the idea of an international agreement altogether. It is quite possible that at first such an international agreement will be more of a declaratory than of a really enforceable nature. However, it is important that even if it is to be only a declaration of principles, such declaration should be made proclaiming the protection of human liberties as fundamental to the existence and development of a peaceful democratic international community. The moral and political effects of such a declaration would be of great importance, and in the event that its violation should become so flagrant that it would threaten peace and

order the international organization could intervene and correct the situation.

Moreover, even if at present an effective general international machinery to guarantee human rights cannot be established, some specific conventions, either on particular subjects or limited to special regions, may implement the principles stated in the universal bill of rights and help create a machinery for their enforcement.

It has been suggested that the Commission on Human Rights to be set up as a part of the General International Organization be granted special right of investigation and control over the treatment of religious, racial, and ethnic minorities in some regions of the world. Of particular interest in this connection are the Central and Eastern European regions where conflicts are so acute that they cannot be solved except by international agreement and machinery. Special local and international tribunals to deal with violations of human rights in those regions may be of importance also to prevent the survival of the Nazi and fascist ideologies. The need for such a special convention may be explained by the specific nature of the minority problems in that part of the world where due to historic and social developments the minorities were subject to discrimination and persecution. The Human Rights Commission could be given, in an agreement limited to those regions, special jurisdiction and standing before the local courts.

Also, special international courts to which appeals could be made from the local courts would be set up. Before these courts the aggrieved individuals should be given a standing and if possible the individuals should have direct access to them. Of course, this would constitute a great departure from the traditional concept of international justice; but such a direct appeal would eliminate a great deal of opposition by the states which, on the basis of the concept of sovereignty, claim to have the right to veto every international political decision. That claim was never made concerning international judicial bodies where the majority principle always prevailed.

Even such a special convention is impossible, whenever the Commission finds that violations of human rights become flagrant or inveterate in any area and the peace between nations is thereby menaced, it should be in a position to recommend to the Council of the International Organization that a trouble zone be declared to exist. Then the Human Rights Commission should be empowered to establish a branch office in the trouble zone for the purpose of providing legal aid to aggrieved persons before national tribunals. The branch office would also follow the observance of any recommendation which the Commission may make or any judicial decision which may be made affecting human rights. The Commission should also be given the right to carry an appeal from the trouble-zone tribunals to the Council or to the Permanent Court.

As far as the protection of the Jews is concerned, consideration should be given to the problems of protecting Jewish religious and group rights especially in the countries in Europe that recognize a state religion with special privileges and rights.

The Jewish rights should be further secured through provisions against anti-Semitism, which could be inserted in the constitutions and laws of the countries having been occupied by the Nazis and subjected to their propaganda for years. Such legislation in the particular postwar situation in Europe may be very useful and necessary because of the influence left by the Nazi ideas in some European countries even after defeat of Hitlerite Germany. That does not imply that legislation against anti-Semitism must be considered as favoring one group or as granting special privileges to the Jews. Such legislation may be a part of the general legislation against all manifestations of Nazi ideology of which anti-Semitism is one of the essential parts. Already in the armistice agreements with Rumania and Finland such anti-Nazi legislation, which includes also measures against anti-Semitism, is forecast and the orders of General Eisenhower after crossing German territory would indicate that stern measures will be taken against all expressions of Nazi phi-

losophy. Especially in the transitional period, therefore, such legislation may be very useful and necessary on the European Continent until such time when Nazism and its companion anti-Semitism are eliminated as potentially dangerous political forces.

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JEWISH STUDENT ACTIVITY IN THE UNIVERSITY

Lorraine Nadelman and Sarah Shulman

That the best potential leadership in the community lies in an educated youth no one will deny. But in these whirlwind days it is not necessary or even advisable for youth to wait for a sheepskin before assuming responsibility of leadership, although preparation is of course necessary. Nowhere in this world of turmoil, hatred, and oppression of minorities can be found so responsive a medium for expression and developing of potentialities as an American metropolitan university campus. In this article we intend to show how the Jewish student in particular can "work" on his campus, by means of a Jewish student organization.

Largely because of lack of funds and understanding in most of our universities, there is a dearth of accredited courses in Hebrew culture and Jewish education. Therefore, the function of a Jewish extracurricular student organization is primarily to supply the opportunity for this study.

Another function is to foster in the Jewish student an appreciation of his own culture. Unfortunately, in a world where "assimilatory" forces are so powerful, too few Jewish students take pride in their Jewish background. They lack proper knowledge and hence appreciation of the greatness of their heritage. By education and training there can be built up a Jewish youth proud and strong with an inner fortitude, secure in the knowledge that his group has

contributed, is contributing, and will continue to contribute a constructive part to world civilization.

A corollary to the above is to increase non-Jewish understanding of the Jewish world. Stereotyped ideas and prejudices have been a barrier to congenial *accord* between Jew and Gentile. A lack of knowledge leads to lack of understanding. Supply the knowledge and such understanding generally will follow. As Chancellor H. W. Chase of New York University has said: "It is through . . . concerted appreciation of the great cultures of the past that we can best hope to bridge many of the difficulties that so unfortunately beset mankind today." What better place than the eclectic atmosphere of a campus?

So it was for the realization of these aims—the education of the Jew in the values of his traditional culture, and the establishment of a better understanding between the Jew and his Gentile companions—that Dean E. George Payne of the School of Education helped organize at New York University the Jewish Culture Foundation. In the seven years of its existence, it has grown to be one of the outstanding groups of its type in America. It is one of the largest student organizations at New York University today and is open to all students—Gentile and Jew alike. While it is run by the students themselves, they have the guidance and advice of a Board of Directors consisting of faculty members and an Advisory Board of rabbis, alumni, and leading Jewish citizens of the community. To coordinate the work of the students and to answer the twenty-four-hour-a-day problems which arise in an organization such as this, it is essential to have a sympathetic adviser who is at once familiar with the issues of school routine and personal problems of the average student in home and social life. To secure such guidance and abiding interest in the welfare of the individual student, it proved to be necessary to engage the services of a trained educator and leader whose entire time and interest is devoted to the furtherance of Jewish culture and education for the youth of today and the civilization of tomorrow.

Since the activities are designed to include the student body at large, they are directed to satisfy all interests. No indoctrination is attempted or precluded, but Judaism is presented in its related problems in all phases: cultural and educational, social, interfaith, leadership training, and war activity. These make up a full and diversified yet integrated program for a university of many divisions.

Cultural and educational. Weekly forums led by well-known lecturers are the mainstay of the cultural and educational program. Current and future problems affecting the Jew—religion, history, literature, art, and music—are a few of the topics discussed by eminent leaders in their various fields. The organization has been fortunate in securing, over the years, men who have presented a true and full picture of the topics under discussion, and aroused student interest and understanding. One adaptation of these forums which has proved very beneficial and stimulating is the Unit Series. For example, a unit on religion included orthodox, conservative, and reform rabbis speaking in successive weeks. Units on culture dealt with art, music, and the theater and presented leaders in their respective fields.

A Round Table Group led and participated in by students, a Zionist Circle, field trips to places of Jewish and interfaith interest, motion pictures on Palestine, folk dancing and music groups, a faculty quiz program—these are some of the other cultural and educational activities.

The Menorah Journal is a potent means of expanding the educational program even to the students' homes. On a more informal basis, the Jewish Culture Foundation monthly newspaper does the same. In addition to the usual organization news, this includes book reviews and stories and explanations of the current religious festivals.

To stimulate further the students' interest in the educational program, various prizes are offered for essays on "Modern Hebrew Literature," "Jewish Contribution to Civilization," and "Hebrew Cul-

ture and Jewish Education." The Jewish Culture Foundation is also the medium for the granting of two Interfaith scholarships of three hundred dollars each. It is significant that last year the "Jewish Contribution to Civilization" Award was won by a Negro student and one of the Benjamin Interfaith Scholarships was awarded this year to the president of the University Christian Association.

Social. The Jewish Culture Foundation has the usual club gatherings such as socials, teas, dances, hikes, boat and bike rides, skating and theater parties, and in addition to this it proves that learning can be fun and fun learning. The Jewish holidays afford the opportunity to make a primarily religious and social event into one at once instructive and cultural.

Homentashen, folk dancing, Purim songs, a skit on the story of Esther bring home to the students the reason for the joyful holiday of Purim. The spirit of Hanukkah is captured by the traditional candle-lighting ceremony, a cultural program of poetry, songs and dances, and a fun program with the ever popular *latkes*.

Probably the highlight of this phase of the Jewish Culture Foundation program is the annual model Passover Seder, which many students, parents, alumni, and faculty attend, and which stimulates much interest and affords opportunity for the clearing of many questions. At a fully appointed Seder table—complete with matzoh, wine, and charoses—a rabbi interprets and explains the traditional symbols and sequence of the Seder. Thus, many a student who had previously thought of the Passover eve in terms of the length of time it took before supper was served has come to revere and appreciate the deeper spiritual meaning behind the ceremonies commemorating Israel's deliverance from Egyptian bondage.

Interfaith. As has been mentioned above, the entire program of the Jewish Culture Foundation is aimed at facilitating the harmonious attitude of students of various faiths who have to live and work together, and to stimulate the Jewish student more keenly to appreciate his own culture. But there is a special committee whose

particular duty it is to foster the first point. This committee works in close cooperation with the committees of like purpose of the Christian Association and the Newman Club. Together they sponsor many outstanding activities. In addition to social gatherings which permit the informal mingling of students of different faiths, public meetings have met high acclaim. In recent years a "Religion in Life" week was observed when thirty guest speakers addressed mass meetings on the subject of the integral part played by religion in everyday life. During Brotherhood Week a book and Bible exhibit was held in the Library of Hebraica and Judaica. As a regular feature of the Committee work, symposiums and radio programs are arranged on contemporary issues of interfaith interest, lectures given by authors of currently discussed books, by rabbis, priests, and ministers. Often the three clubs exchange their lecturers, thus adding to good will among the individual groups. Constantly there are being found marks of greater understanding among the students and clubs, directly traceable to the work of this type of cooperation.

Leadership training. The student leaders who plan and execute programs for the organization have an unparalleled opportunity to develop initiative, self-confidence, and a sense of responsibility. In addition, such work is a healthy outlet for individual expression, bridled by the still healthier need for working in harmony with others, for leadership training is more than an education in giving orders. Those who formulate ideas for one field must be willing and able to follow suggestions in another undertaking. Like all democratic enterprises, work of this type requires a spirit of "give and take," of harmony, teamwork, and cheerful cooperation—qualities essential for any successful effort. Such club leaders invariably stand above the average in basic school curricula.

War activities. The advent of the war has brought with it another outlet for the expansion of the spirit of brotherliness on the part of the Jewish Culture Foundation. In addition to making entertainment facilities available for servicemen, it has worked in close co-

operation with the Federation of Jewish University Student Organizations and with the Jewish Welfare Board, has participated in war fund drives such as the United Jewish Appeal, the New York City War Fund, Red Cross, Blood Bank, and book drives. In addition to this, the Letters to Servicemen Committee sees to it that several hundred servicemen hear from "home" each week, and receive gifts from the J. C. F. There are also regular weekly services for the University Heights soldiers.

But all these might be termed ephemeral accomplishments. Yet, every one serves to fettle sturdier characters to deal with a world to come, a world stripped of illusions, a world in which each must be equipped to stand guard at the station appointed him.

In an organization such as this there are limitless possibilities of things of lasting value that can be built upon with each succeeding class of students. At New York University, the Jewish Culture Foundation points with some pride—and justly—to two major achievements. One is the Library of Hebraica and Judaica, founded originally from a unique private collection of the late Dr. Mitchell M. Kaplan, and the William Rosenthal and LaGarde collections. The material in the Library dates from the oldest known manuscripts to the most modern pieces, and covers fiction, nonfiction, Jewish education, and all phases and aspects of Judaic life, custom, and history. The Library is of greatest use to scholars who would carry on research and to students who want to investigate the great Jewish culture so significant for our civilization and our democracy. Since the establishment of the Library, innumerable term papers and graduate theses have been based on material gleaned from this collection. Weekly, contributions are pouring in to broaden the value and extent of the Library. Recently eight valuable oil paintings have been added to enhance its cultural and aesthetic beauty.

The second cultural milestone in this field in which the Jewish Culture Foundation has had an important hand is the establishment of the Chair of Hebrew Culture and Jewish Education. This de-

partment, headed by the executive director of the Jewish Culture Foundation, Professor Abraham I. Katsh, is unique in being the first of its kind in any American university, and carries accredited Hebrew and education courses which meet the requirements for baccalaureate, master's, and doctoral degrees. The funds were furnished to the University by friends and adherents of the Foundation.

This is but the beginning of what can be accomplished by an organization based primarily on good will and appreciation of differences, the will to work, the yen to learn, and the urge to help. These are the standards of our American youth. Let those who will serve in their particular fields until our world is no longer one of turmoil, hatred, and oppression but one of brotherhood and understanding—hence of everlasting peace.

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